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These briefings have been drafted by the Parliament Secretariat Task Force on the Intergovernmental Conference. Their purpose is to gather together, in an organized, summary form, the proposals and suggestions which the authorities in the Member States, the Union's institutions and specialist commentators have put forward on the <u>issues</u> likely to be on the IGC/96 agenda. Briefings will be updated as negotiations proceed.

# Already out:

- 1. The Court of Justice
- 2. The Commission
- 3. The Court of Auditors, ESC and COR
- 4. Differentiated integration
- 5. The common foreign and security policy
- 6. The role of the national parliaments
- 7. The hierarchy of Community acts
- 8. Codecision procedure
- 9. CJHA
- 10. European citizenship
- 11. WEU, security and defence
- 12. Public services
- 13. Social policy
- 14. The European Parliament
- 15. The European Council
- 16. The Council of the European Union
- 17. The budget and the IGC
- 18. The IGC and transparency
- 19. Subsidiarity and the allocation of powers
- 20. The Union's legal personality and external representation
- 21. Commitology
- 22. Fundamental rights
- 23. The IGC and the democratic nature of the Union
- 24. The coherence of the external action of the EU under the first (Community) and second (CFSP) pillars
- 25. The 1996 IGC and the effectiveness of the Union
- 26. Europol
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- 28. Combating fraud
- 29. Energy
- 30. Tourism and the IGC
- 31. Economic and social cohesion
- 32. European environment policy and the IGC
- 33. The common agricultural policy and the IGC
- 34. Civil protection
- 35. Ending sex discrimination
- 36. Enlargement of the EU
- 37. Employment and the IGC
- 38. The IGC and Economic and Monetary Union
- 39. Asylum and immigration policy

# BRIEFING ON EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

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# BRIEFING ON EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

#### I. SUMMARY

On November 1, 1993 with the entry into force of the Treaty on European Union, some 350 million Europeans acquired a new de jure citizenship status. This is because the Treaty on the European Union inserted into the EC Treaty a new article 8.

Generally speaking, the issue of European citizenship is not addressed directly. It is approached more from the standpoint of fundamental rights which would enable greater substance to be given to the concept of citizenship, or of related topics such as transparency.

#### II. AGENDA FOR THE CONFERENCE

Articles 8a to 8e of the Treaty on European Union list a number of specific rights of citizens. Since citizenship is a developing concept, the Treaty made provision for the extension of citizens' rights. However, although the TEU does not formally provide for the revision of Article 8a to 8e at the 1996 IGC, the notions of citizenship, democracy, transparency and so forth will probably be discussed.

The European 'citizens' rights' listed in the TEU are:

- Article 8a: the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States;
- Article 8b: the right to vote and stand as a candidate at municipal and European elections;
- Article 8c: the right to diplomatic or consular protection in third countries;
- Article 8d: the right to petition the European Parliament and to apply to the Ombudsman.

#### III. POSITIONS

# 1. European Parliament

1.1. Resolution of 17 May 1995 on the functioning of the Treaty on European Union with a view to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference

[...]

7. Greater substance should be provided for the concept of EU citizenship through development of the special rights linked to EU citizenship, notably by means of:

- accession of the Union to the Council of Europe's <u>Convention on Human Rights</u> and Fundamental Freedoms;
- a new right of all EU citizens to information on EU matters;
- inclusion of an explicit reference in the Treaty to the principle of <u>equal treatment</u> irrespective of race, sex, age, handicap or religion (including mentioning the fundamental <u>social rights</u> of workers set out in the Charter, enlarging upon them and extending them to all citizens of the Union); also incorporation of an article specifically referring to the ban on <u>capital punishment</u>;
- bringing together within a single article the <u>economic rights</u> that are scattered throughout the Treaty [...], and reinforcing these rights;
- the development of <u>political citizenship</u>, inter alia through measures that facilitate participation in political life in a Member State of Union citizens residing in that State;
- the strengthening of provisions needed to achieve fully the <u>free movement</u> of persons;
- the preservation of Europe's diversity through special safeguards for traditional national minorities in terms of human rights, democracy and the rule of law;
- the application of the provisions in the Treaty on equal rights not only to economic rights but to all aspects of equality for women.

In addition, the Treaty should contain a clear rejection of racism, xenophobia, sexism, discrimination on grounds of a person's sexual orientation, anti-semitism, revisionism and all forms of discrimination and guarantee adequate legal protection against discrimination for all individuals resident within the EU.

8. In order to develop the means of expression for citizens at European level, Article 138a of the Treaty on European <u>political parties</u> must be applied and developed.

# 1.2. Opinion of the Committee on Legal Affairs and Citizens' Rights

[...]

9. Union citizenship should be enhanced and should go considerably beyond the civic and electoral provisions now contained in the Treaty on European Union. European citizenship must imply that the European Union guarantees the protection of all fundamental rights contained in the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the implementation of common policies in the fields of justice and home affairs. Third country nationals residing in the European Union should be able easily to attain European citizenship. [...]

- 1.3. Resolution on the agenda for the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference with a view to the Madrid European Council
- [...]
- 6. Urges the European Council to define a mandate for the IGC which takes account of the priorities established by Parliament in its resolution [of 17 May 1995] referred to above, namely:
- to give political substance to citizenship of the European Union, to ensure that citizens and social operators have genuine rights to be informed and consulted and real powers of control, and to guarantee respect for both fundamental rights and human rights;

[...]

1.4 European Parliament, resolution of 13.03.96 on the European Council in Turin

[...]

C. Whereas it is absolutely vital for the IGC to meet the demands of citizens for a Europe with a better balance in its common policies, a comprehensive definition of European citizenship, an effective internal security police, a visible foreign policy serving the interests of peace, greater openess and transparency in the Union, more democratic and effective rules and procedures and transparent financial management that guards against frauds [...];

[...]

- D. Whereas the "strengthening of social and economic cohesion" and the "introduction of a citizenship of the Union", as provided for in Article B of the Common Provisions of the EU Treaty, cannot be achieved without strengthening the cultural dimension of the Union;
  [...]
- 2.1 [...]( the European Parliament) reaffirms and reiterates its aforementioned resolution of 17 May 1995 as the basis of its position on the IGC; considers that there are a number of <u>key priorities</u> which need to be successfully tackled at the IGC if the outcome is to be worth ratifying:
- [...] an <u>improved definition of European citizenship</u> and <u>enhanced respect</u> <u>for human rights</u> through extension of specific rights for European citizens within the Treaty, the strengthening of fundamental human rights and the principles of equal treatment [...]
- 4.1
- [...] European citizenship should have precise legal substance; the rights and pbligations affecting European citizenship should be consolidated in the first chapter of the Treatyy under the heading "Declaration of basic rights and provisions governing the exercise of the rights of European citizens and residents" and such on the basis of the Declaration of fundamental rights and freedoms adopted by the European Parliament on 12 April 1989 (...); this new chapter in the Treaty should make it clear that European citizenship gives the citizens new rights and obligations towards the Union, and does not replace national citizenship but complements it; [...]

- 1.5 European Parliament, resolution of 19.06.96 on the Florence European Council and the intergovernmental conference
- [...]
- 3. (the European Parliament) believes that public concern is focused on all those subjects which are conducive to helping the Union on its way to constructively developing suitable solutions for the key areas of European policy: the institution of a genuine European citizenship,..., employment and social protection, transparency, the democratization and ffectiveness of the institutions and the European Unions presence on the world stage[...];

#### 2. Council

# 2.1 Report on the functioning of the TEU

[...]

- 7. [...] The necessary arrangements have been made concerning the right to vote and the protection of citizens abroad. [...]
- 8. [...] provisions have been adopted to ensure that in municipal elections and elections to the European Parliament every citizen is entitled to vote and to stand for election in the Member Sate where he resides, under the same conditions as nationals of that State. [...]
- 9. Article 8a of the EC Treaty provides that every citizen of the Union shall, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which he is a national is not represented, be entitled to protection by the consular authorities of any Member State, on the same conditions as nationals of that State. [...]
- 10. Article 138e of the EC Treaty makes provision for an Ombudsman, who would receive complaints from citizens concerning instances of maladministration in the activities of the Community Institutions or bodies. [...]
- 11. Article 8a of the EC Treaty confirms the basic principle that every citizen of the Union has the right to move and reside within the territory of any Member State. [...]
- 12. Article 8e of the EC Treaty offers the possibility of supplementing the rights of citizenship, [...].
- 2.2 Turin European Council of 29 March 1996

"A Union closer to the citizens"

[...]

The European Council asks the IGC to base its work on the fact that the citizens are at the core of the European construction: the Union has the <u>imperative duty</u> to respond concretely to their needs and concerns.

- As the Union is a community of shared values the IGC should consider whether and how far it will be possible to strengthened these fundamental rights ( human rights,

democratic values, equality and non-discrimination) and improve the safeguarding of them[...].

- In an area of free movement for people, goods, capital and services such as the Union, the exercise of these rights according to the Treaty provisions must be accompanied by adequate protection. A strengthened control of the Union\_s external frontiers shall contribute to it.[...]
- For the Union and the Member States the <u>fight against unemployment is the priority</u> task[...].
- The IGC coul also address the question of the compatibility between competition and the principles of universal access to essential services in the citizens interest.[...]
- The IGC must ensure a better application and enforcing of the principle of subsidiarity, to provide transparency and openess in the Union s work, and to consider whether it would be possible to simplify and consolidate the Treaties.
  [...]
- 2.3 Report from Presidency to the Florence European Council of 17.06.96
- [...]

The Presidency considers it to be generally accepted that the Treaty should clarify the nature of the relationship between Union citizenship and national citizenship, making it clear that Union citizenship is additional to and not a substitute for national citizenship.

[...]

- 2.4 Addendum to the report of 18 June 1996
- -[...] In the Presidencys view, the initial discussions suggest that the procedure in the second paragraph of Article 8e of the TEC for adding to citizenship rights should be maintained.[...]
- 2.5 Florence European Council of 21 and 22 June 1996

[...]

- -"strengthening European citizenship, without replacing national citizenship and while respecting the national identity and traditions of the Member States" are to be considered[...].
- "the fundamental rights" have to be respected".[...]
- it is " necessary to improve " substantially the means and the instruments against terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, as well as the policies on all respects of asylum, on visas and on immigration with a view to common judicial area in the context."

[...]

#### 3. Commission

# 3.1. Report on the operation of the TEU

[...]

- 1. The right to freedom of movement and residence
- 8. Citizens of the Union have been given general rights of <u>freedom of movement and residence</u>; the exercise of these rights is subject to 'limits and conditions' laid down by Community law.
- 9. The Union citizen's right to freedom of movement must therefore be seen in the context of the establishment of the 'area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of ... persons ... is ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty' (Article 7a, added by the Single European Act).
  [...]

# 2. The right to vote and stand for election

11. All citizens of the Union residing in a Member State of which they are not nationals are now entitled to vote and stand as candidates in municipal elections and elections to the European Parliament. [...]

# 3. Diplomatic and consular protection

[...]

16. There are [...] <u>provisos attached</u> to putting this new right into practice. The 'guidelines' which are supposed to bring it about are merely non-binding instructions. They are also <u>incomplete</u>, as they only deal with consular protection, moreover without covering all the fields listed in the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. In particular, these 'guidelines' have received <u>little publicity</u>, so that by and large the citizens of the Union are unaware of them. Lastly, there is no clear indication of how a citizen can avail him- or herself of this right to protection.
[...]

#### 5. Overall assessment

[...]

18. Generally speaking, the introduction of the concept of European citizenship, which does not replace but is in addition to national citizenship, carries immense potential. Its purpose is to deepen European citizens' sense of belonging to the European Union and make that sense more tangible by conferring on them the rights associated with it.

The most noteworthy and visible application of the concept is the right to vote and stand as a candidate in European and municipal elections. However, the ambitious notion written into the Treaty has not yet produced measures conferring really effective rights: the citizen enjoys only fragmented, incomplete rights which are

themselves subject to <u>restrictive conditions</u>. In that sense, the concept of citizenship is <u>not yet put into practice in a way that lives up to the individual's expectations</u>.
[...]

#### 3.2. Other Commission initiatives

The Commission has also taken the following measures in areas relating to the concept of European citizenship:

- <u>freedom of movement</u>: proposals for implementing freedom of movement within the framework of Parliament's proceedings for failure to act (cf. statements made by Mr Santer before the European Parliament);
- economic and social rights of citizens: Commission initiative ('Putting citizens first') to inform citizens of their rights (employment, studies, residence, etc.) within the single market. (Cf. also the creation of a 'European Hotline on Health' (details in Santer note) encouraged by the Court.);
- <u>civil protection</u>: possibility of a Commission decision on a Community civil protection programme covering cooperation and mutual assistance in the event of fire, chemical accident, earthquake, etc.

# 3.3 Commission Opinion, 28.02.96 A peoples Europe

[...]

I.

7. Ordinary people must feel actively involved. The concept of European citizenship enshrined in the Treaty on European Union complements national citizenship.

This concept of citizenship has many aspects; it should be developed further:

- [...] it is <u>based on European social model</u> which guarantees that fundamental rights are recogniced by all, and whose members are committed to mutual support[...];
- [...] it provides for freedom of movement and establishment, to be enjoyed with a proper level of security [...];
- [...]finally it implies that <u>Europe must be understandable for the individual</u>; successive amenments to the Treaties have made European integration increasingly complex; it must be made simpler and more democratic[...]
- 9. [...]The Union should signal its espousal of the values (human rights) even more clearly, either directly in the Treaty or in signing the Convention itself.[...]

The Conference should also incorporate in the Treaty <u>provisions banning discrimination of any kind</u>- particularly on the basis of sex, thereby extending the provisions on equal pay- and condemning racism and xenophobia.
[...]

3.4 Commission Report of 3 July 1996 on the scope of the codecision procedure

[...]

- B. 1. The codecision procedures shall be used in the following areas:
- citizenship (currently assent procedure, e.g. Right to move and reside in other Member States, or consultation, e.g. right to take part in municipal elections and elections to the European Parliament), on the contary the possible new rights; (Article 8e) would remain subject to the consultation procedure; [...]

# Annex 3: New areas for codecision:

[...]

# Citizenship:

- Measures to facilitate the right to move and reside freely- Article 8a(2)[...]
- The right at every citizen of the Union to vote and stand at municipal elections in the Member State in which he resides- Article 8b(1)[...]
- 4. Reflection Group

# **Reflection Group's report**

The Reflection Group considers that one of the key elements, both to justify the reform of the Treaty and to ensure the success of the conference, is to place the citizen at the centre of the European venture by endeavouring to meet his expectations and concerns.

Essential aspects of this task include respect for human rights and fundamental rights, non-discrimination, and clarification of the rights and obligations of both citizens of the Union and third-country nationals in the Union. Furthermore, citizens' concerns about security, employment, the environment, transparency and subsidiarity should be properly taken into account by the Union.

The introduction of the principle of citizenship of the Union in Article B, third indent, of the TEU, and its development in Articles 8 to 8e was viewed differently in the various Member States. The broad majority of the Group is in favour of its development by means of a deepening of the specific rights of citizens of the Union already included in the Treaty (achieving unrestricted freedom of movement and residence, completing diplomatic and consular protection in third countries), the inclusion of new rights and the simplification of the articles of the Treaty which relate to citizenship.

Citizens should be granted a specific right to information on Union matters and on how the Union functions. Other members of the Group maintain that citizenship of the Union is perceived as a threat to national identity in some Member States and do not think it appropriate to develop either the substance of the concept or the concept itself. However, the Group suggests that the Treaty should indicate in an even clearer manner that citizenship of the Union does not replace national citizenship.

Some members of the Group drew attention to the fact that <u>abolishing the use of passports for the crossing of internal borders</u> could help to enhance citizens' feeling of belonging.

The Group also discussed the idea of voluntary service involving the establishment of a European 'peace corps' for humanitarian actions. Some members proposed that the peace corps be given the task of helping Member States to deal with natural disasters.

#### 5. Member States

# 5.1. Belgium

In its 'Policy note from the government to parliament on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference' the government states its support for the idea of providing greater substance for the concept of citizenship by fleshing out the Treaty provisions relating thereto. It is prepared to consider certain proposals for the extension of citizens' rights, such as:

- accession by the European Union to the European Convention on Human Rights and other instruments defining fundamental rights and freedoms, or the inclusion in the Treaty of a catalogue of fundamental rights and freedoms;
- a limited extension of the list of rights and duties set out in the Treaty, to cover areas such as the fight against racism and xenophobia;
- introduction of a mechanism enabling penalties including suspension of the membership of any Member State failing to fulfil its obligations in respect of democratic freedoms and human rights to be imposed.

# 5.2. Denmark

In its 'Agenda for Europe', the Danish Government says it is in favour of some fundamental rights being dissociated from the concept of European citizenship. This could possibly be enlarged upon by the incorporation of parts of the Declaration of Human Rights, particularly freedom of expression, the right of property and the right to a clean environment. Such rights could be included in the sections on social policy and employment or in a new chapter, or even in the section on European citizenship.

In a second document, entitled 'Bases for discussions at the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference', the Danish Government says it is extremely important for the IGC to address the practical concerns of European citizens. The gap between the people and the Community must be closed. The Danish Government therefore intends to work towards bringing Europe closer to the people, achieving greater transparency and simplifying the Treaty. It goes without saying that the Edinburgh decision regarding

inter alia European citizenship cannot be amended without Denmark's consent, and only then by referendum.

# 5.3. Germany

The report of the Conference of Ministers of the Länder of 23 and 24 May 1995 states that European citizenship must be given greater substance by means of improvements in the following areas:

- <u>fundamental rights</u>, such as the right to information and the fight against racism, must be included in the Treaty;
- social security;
- administrative independence of municipalities;
- transparency;
- inter-regional cooperation.

The discussion paper on furthering Community responsibility for policy in the field of justice and home affairs with a view to the 1996 IGC, published by the steering committee of the CDU/CSU Group in the Bundestag, mentions the importance of democratic equality for all citizens of the Union in respect of the electoral law governing elections to the European Parliament.

Furthermore, fundamental rights must be standardized to the greatest possible extent in a 'people's Europe'.

#### 5.4. Greece

According to the document entitled 'Towards a People's Europe - democracy and development', Athens believes in a citizens' Europe, and therefore opposes any notion of a two-speed Europe. Greece, it is stressed, will not accept any proposals contrary to the principle of equal rights and duties for all the peoples of Europe, particularly in the economic field.

#### **5.5.** Spain

The memorandum entitled 'The 1996 Intergovernmental Conference: bases for a discussion' establishes a link between citizenship of the Union and fundamental rights. The document sets out two options:

- either to extend substantially the <u>catalogue of rights</u> set out in the existing chapter on citizenship of the Union (Articles 8 to 8e) by incorporating, inter alia, an article on combating racism and xenophobia;
- or to draw up a <u>charter of fundamental rights</u> of citizens of the Union including, with a view to future enlargements, all the rights held to be fundamental in current

European legislation, thus enabling them to be protected both by the Union institutions and those of the Member States.

# 5.6. Italy

In its 'Statement on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference' the Italian Government maintains that individual citizens will understand the Union if it is built with their consent, if they grasp the aspects which affect them most closely and if they feel that their everyday lives are influenced by Community legislation with its rules and safeguards: freedom of movement and the single currency (the most familiar aspect of the economy, which people use to buy food and other daily necessities and which serves as the yardstick for work and production, wealth and poverty). Bearing in mind the lessons learned from the Maastricht ratification process, the new conference must base European integration on a clarity of purpose and close, ongoing contacts between individual citizens and the bodies representing them, starting with the national parliaments.

#### 5.7. Luxembourg

In its 'Memorandum on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference' the Luxembourg Government calls for the preamble to the new treaty to refer explicitly to the protection of the <u>human rights</u> and fundamental freedoms of European citizens, equality between men and women and the fight against racism and xenophobia.

#### 5.8. Netherlands

In its report on 'Institutional reform in the European Union' the Netherlands Government states that the <u>European Union must adopt rules</u> giving citizens extensive access to information together with appropriate means of redress.

#### 5.9. Austria

In its 'Guidelines on the probable topics of the 1996 IGC' the Austrian Government expresses the view that Community responsibility for civil protection should be added to the TEU. In addition, the fundamental rights of Union citizens should be guaranteed, in particular as regards <u>data protection</u> (third pillar). Finally, the Austrian Government proposes that governments be required to investigate any action to <u>combat racism and xenophobia</u> and to draw up minimum requirements for protection against racist and xenophobic activities.

# 5.10. Portugal

In an interview published in the newspaper 'Público', the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr Cavaco Silva, said that the reform should focus on citizens' problems. He also put forward the idea of a citizens' charter establishing an area without internal borders with equal rights and duties for all Europeans.

#### 5.11. Finland

In its 'Memorandum concerning Finnish points of view with regard to the 1996 IGC of the European Union' the Finnish Government sees European citizenship as a means of promoting democracy and the rule of law in the Union and furthering unity in Europe. A clearer definition of the concept of European citizenship in the Treaty might provide a means of guaranteeing the principles of transparency, democracy, the rule of law, equality, social justice and respect for human rights.

#### **5.12.** Sweden

In its 'Written statement to parliament' the Swedish Government points out that the democratic structures lying outside the political sphere tend to be left out of the debate on a 'people's Europe'. Discussions on the issue of democratic legitimacy tend to be restricted to the breakdown of powers between the EU's political institutions and the governments and parliaments of the Member States.

# 5.13. Joint declaration by the German and Italian Foreign Ministers

This declaration was issued following the meeting between the German and Italian Foreign Minsters held in Italy on 15 July 1995. With regard to citizenship, the declaration proposes the codification of fundamental rights and freedoms, whose safekeeping would be entrusted to the Court of Justice.

# 5.14. Joint declaration by the French President and the German Chancellor

In this declaration, issued on 6 December 1995, the two parties state that, in general, the Union should be made easier to understand for individual citizens and more sensitive to their needs.

# 6. Council of Europe

In its 'Memorandum on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference the Council of Europe tackles the issue of the role which European citizenship should play. The question is whether citizens' rights should be extended to third-country nationals, particularly with regard to:

- freedom of movement for persons;
- the ban on discrimination on the grounds of nationality;
- political rights at local level.

This issue must be considered from the standpoint of both legislative policy and existing law, with a distinction being made between:

- rights granted on the basis of international agreements to which the Community is a party;
- rights granted on the basis of international agreements to which Member States are parties;
- rights granted under unilateral national acts.

# 7. Institut für Europäische Politik

Citizenship of the Union: options, recommendations and suggestions regarding the protection and extension of Union citizenship with a view to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference on revising the Maastricht Treaty

This study on citizenship commissioned by the European Parliament's Directorate-General for Research states that <u>European citizenship is necessary</u>, in that the European Union is already well integrated and decisions taken by the European institutions affect individual citizens. None the less, although the latter are increasingly affected by Community decisions, they still have a nationalistic approach to national matters.

Although many still feel that European citizenship 'is lacking in content', one cannot ignore the possible benefits of stronger provisions on European citizenship:

# 1. Amending and extending existing citizens' rights

- unrestricted freedom of movement and residence;
- right to vote in elections to all public bodies;
- enhanced right of petition;
- Community legal guarantee and introduction of minimum rights to consular protection.

# 2. Introducing new rights

- right of access to information;
- right of assembly;
- freedom of association;
- referendums;
- right of initiative;
- right to a hearing;
- protection of minorities;
- obligation to provide protection;
- social security statute/Union social security passport;
- equal treatment regarding recruitment, work and vocational and in-service training;
- right to assistance when looking for a job.

# 3. Introducing citizens' duties

# 4. Amending and establishing other individual rights

- access to the courts;
- European charter of fundamental rights.

#### 5. Other proposals

- granting of certain citizens' rights to legal persons;
- lessons on European citizenship in schools;

- possible extension of rights deriving from citizenship of the Union to nationals of third countries.

There are three possible ways of incorporating these new elements into the Treaty:

# 1. Minimalist strategy - procedure set out in Article 8e of the EC Treaty:

This could consist of <u>strict compliance with the procedures</u> set out in Article 8e of the EC Treaty. Parliament's proposals for the introduction of new rights or the extension of existing rights would in this instance be treated as a suggestion that the Commission use its right of initiative under Article 8e in accordance with the wishes expressed by Parliament.

An alternative to this procedure would be an initiative by Parliament under the procedure provided for in Article 138b, which would give this subject a certain symbolic value and, furthermore, prompt the Commission to submit its proposals within an acceptable time frame.

# 2. Maximalist strategy - procedure set out in Article N of the TEU:

The European Parliament could attempt to <u>add to the agenda for the Conference the topic 'European citizenship'</u>, or simply 'citizens' rights', together with new rights in the form of coordination and extension of existing rights in the amended treaty.

At the same time, during the negotiations priority could be given to some of the new elements. Two sets of proposals should thus be given priority treatment:

- those proposals whose main aim is to explain and clarify existing rights, on which it should be easier to reach a consensus;
- those proposals designed to strengthen citizens' rights to take part in the democratic process; the consolidation of such rights should help to close the gap between the Union and its citizens.

# 3. Step-by-step strategy:

As with the procedures in the other areas of the Treaty (for example, completion of the common market) an attempt could be made to reach a <u>consensus</u> at the Intergovernmental Conference on a <u>general concept</u> of Union citizenship, which would simply lay down the main principles and the objectives to be attained on the basis of a pre-determined timetable.

#### 8. CEPS

# Preparing for 1996 and a larger European Union: principles and priorities

There are no formal plans for the inclusion of this topic on the agenda for the 1996 IGC. It should be discussed at the conference however, because this would increase public interest in how the EU institutions operate and because the enlargement of the

EU to take in the CEECs provides the opportunity for a debate on the appropriateness of incorporated a declaration of human rights.

One further issue should be considered: Article F makes respect for democratic principles a criterion for accession to the EU. What would happen if, following a change of government, a Member State were to infringe these principles? What steps would the EU take? Economic sanctions? Military action (by analogy with the American Civil War in the 19th century)? Or expulsion? Such questions cannot be avoided.

# 9. Federal Trust

# **Building the Union**

The EU should accede to the European Convention in order to give greater substance to the guarantee that citizens' rights will be enforced. The need for accession is all the more urgent in view of the fact that enlargement of the EU will bring in a number of countries which have had a questionable human rights record in the past. Like the current Member States, such countries must be profoundly convinced that the EU is founded on strict respect for human rights.

#### **SOURCES**

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